

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREEPENCE

LORD BOYD ORR TELLS BOYS AND GIRLS:

World Food Pact

more important than

Atlantic Pact

If we were as keen on feeding the people of the world as we were on making war we could double our food production in less than 25 years."

This was the message given last week to 2,000 boys and girls by Nobel Prize winner Lord Boyd Orr at the Central Hall, Westminster.

Lord Boyd Orr regretted Britain had placed more importance on the Atlantic Pact than on a world food pact. With such an arrangement, he believed there would have been no danger of war.

"There would have been a market for everything that great industrial countries of the world could have produced in the next 25 years," he declared. "A pact would have brought prosperity to the world and ensured peace."

Lord Boyd Orr, former Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, was speaking at the final session of lectures arranged by the Council for World Citizenship.

Must double food production

He recognised that bad conditions represented a grave threat to peace; and said the only basis of warless society was a general high living standard.

To achieve that he estimated we should have to double our food production within the next 25 years.

"I think nothing can prevent the population rising to 3,000 million by the time you boys and girls are middle-aged," he went on.

"In my opinion the problem of food can only be solved by having an emergency scheme such as we had during the war." He also believed that nations should cooperate to apply scientific discoveries to food production.

In reply to a question, Lord Boyd Orr said we should strive for: "A world where there is no war, and where a woman can have a child without worrying whether it would ever go hungry."

The importance of international co-operation was also stressed, in the concluding lecture, by Mr. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education.

He told his young audience they must have a sense of moral responsibility for the welfare of all their fellows if they were to claim they were educated in world citizenship.

"The better citizen you are of your own country the greater will be your desire to make world citizenship a reality."

Sir Hartley Shawcross, the Attorney General, had earlier told the conference that one day the UN Assembly might become a world parliament—though not while its voting system remained as it was.

He believed the danger of war had greatly diminished in the last two years largely owing to the increasing strength of UN, and declared the importance of freedom of travel and friendship could not be over-estimated.

"It will do far more than armies or courts to promote international good-will," he said.

Britain and Michael Scott

At an earlier session of the conference, Tom Driberg, MP, had criticised the British Government's attempt to prevent Michael Scott's appeal to UN, and for refusing an inquiry into the Colonies.

"We had observed 'legalistic rights,'" he said, "but neglected 'profound human and moral rights.'"

"No person can be satisfied with Dr. Malan's Government, he went on. "It is a radical policy indistinguishable from that of the Nazis."

He told the audience that S.W. Africa was an embarrassment to the British Government and a disgrace to civilisation.

"Racial discrimination is in all circumstances totally undemocratic and un-Christian. Let there be tolerance and understanding towards native populations—without patronage and condescending pity."

Cadet Corps refuses to give boys weapon training

"WE want healthy-minded boys, and not budding gangsters with pistols and Sten guns," says the Annual Report of the Stornoway (Lewis) Sea Cadet Corps. The Report announces that the Corps have refused the annual Admiralty grant because they object to giving boys war training.

"If the cadet organisations are to introduce the curse of Germany into Britain," the report adds, "then the sooner the taxpayer's money ceases to be spent on them the better."

No link with conscription

"Our movement was not founded for the purpose of extending conscription to boys of 14 and under."

PACIFIST PLANS FOR WORLD PEACE ARMY

'Embodies hopes of millions'

—Rev. MICHAEL SCOTT

PLANS for setting up Peace Service Units throughout the world were presented to the World Pacifist Meeting at its closing sessions held at Gandhi's home at Sevagram, India.

Unlike military forces these units would be fully active in peace time against violence in the social order.

They would be composed of individual believers in the superiority of moral force to violence, trained to live an austere life and be ready for the ultimate sacrifice, said Prof. S. N. Agarwal, F.R.Econ.S. (London) who presented the report of the commission which had studied the question of forming a Peace Army.

Rev. Michael Scott, who recently spoke at UNO in defence of the natives of South-West Africa, said that the report embodied the hopes of millions.

Trygve Lie's 1950 Peace Message

A CALL to the world to work for peace and to be aware that the world is one and must remain one was made by Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General to the United Nations in a New Year message.

"It is my firm belief," Mr. Lie declared, "that in the coming years we shall have the courage and wisdom to use our common platform, the United Nations, to control our differences, to spread wide our knowledge, and advance our civilisation. There is no rational alternative to choose."

Several members of the Commission thought the work so important that they were ready to give their lives to it.

Stress was laid on the need for training the Units. Vera Brittain, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, referred to the possibility of pacifist service units in the West being adapted for this purpose.

The establishment of a preliminary International Liaison Committee to co-ordinate the work of recruiting and training volunteers was suggested.

Belgium has peace commandos

From London come reports of activities in Europe which will probably be linked up with the Indian proposals.

In Belgium, Peace Commandos have been established and they have proposed the establishment of a neutral zone in time of war, centred around the town of Bruges, where aged and infirm people and infants could be sent.

A feature of their training is the giving up of one meal a week; the money saved being used for the work of the local unit. This act also demonstrates a spirit of solidarity with the many millions who still go hungry while the nations of the world are spending millions on war preparations. Their headquarters are at Stop War House, 16 Grand Place, Brussels.

In London a special meeting of pacifists from all organisations has been called by the London Area of the Peace Pledge Union to hear proposals for the formation of a Non-violent Resistance Movement.

It will meet at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, on Wednesday, Jan. 25, at 7 p.m.

My aim: Remove obvious causes of war

—PANDIT NEHRU

THE dilemma which faces the statesman who seeks to hold on to truth although forced to compromise on many occasions was presented to the World Pacifist Meeting by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru when he wound up the conference with an address to the delegates and the 15,000 Indians who surrounded the meeting place.

He was not, he said, a pacifist, and therefore in a sense had come to the meeting "under false pretences." But though it was probably impossible for any pacifist to be connected with a modern state with its machinery of force, this did not mean that he was not as anxious as any member of the Conference to avoid war.

He had hoped, he said, that the World Pacifist Meeting might simplify his task. Instead, so many problems had been presented to him that he felt rather more confused than he was when he came.

Difference between Asia and Europe

Referring to the East-West conflict (In the European sense of America v. Russia), Pandit Nehru drew a graphic picture of the distinction between the mentality of Europe and that of Asia.

The Asiatic peoples were obsessed by their primary needs. In Europe, though it had been a battle ground, the people were better off than in India which had been outside war. So their thoughts turned to power politics, whereas those of Indians normally do not—not because they are better, for many Indians have behaved scandalously during the past two years, but because their primary needs are fundamental and urgent. Anything which promises to satisfy these will get the people's support.

In spite of current tensions, he saw no real danger of war in Europe, but a great conflict would come if certain existing conditions in Asia and Africa were not soon remedied.

It was his purpose, the Premier said, to remove these obvious causes of war, and he would try to do so whether he succeeded or not.

"We are tied to no-one's foreign policy," he concluded. This flows from our thinking for the past 30 years under Gandhi's leadership."

BLACKBURN FREE CHURCH COUNCIL:

'We look upon conscription as an evil'

WE have been unanimous in condemning conscription as not in accord with the mind of Christ, even under the present name of National Service," says a report on Conscription presented to the Blackburn Free Church Federal Council by a group appointed to consider the matter.

"Although divergent views have been expressed, none has felt happy that conscription is still with us," adds the report.

"We are particularly disturbed that the burden of conscription falls on the shoulders of youths of 18 years who are drawn away from the environment of home, school or church at an age when they are just pre-committed to play a full part in the life of the community and led into an environment which easily leads to the adoption of lower standards of conduct.

"So long as conscription remains we must be diligent to see that the Conscience Clause in the Act is retained and it is the duty of Christian leaders to influence all young men in reasonable time before registration age that registration involves a choice; whether to enter the armed forces or to register as a conscientious objector.

Don't be misled

"We must not be misled by the term 'National Service.' Real service to the community is essentially voluntary and a period of life cannot be confined to a computation of 18 months or two years under conscription. Conscription and service are a contradiction of terms.

"Although all were united in the belief

that conscription should be ended at the earliest possible moment, it was in the interpretation of when this moment should be that we had to differ. Those who were prepared to support the ultimate use of military force questioned whether the present time was an opportune one to dispense with pre-war military training.

A crime against youth

"On the other hand those who support the immediate abolition of conscription feel that as Christians we should be guided primarily by Christian principles rather than by national expediency and they feel also that conscription is a claim by the State to man's ultimate obedience and is a crime against youth, who are familiarised with the idea of warfare and conditioned to its acceptance.

"But whatever our standpoint we look upon conscription as an evil which calls for more concerned and increasing attention not only by the community at large, if it is to preserve its essential freedom, but by members of the Christian Church in particular."

The Free Church Council asks the various churches to whom the report has been submitted to adopt the following recommendations:

1—That those who are particularly in touch

with youth should bring before young men the realisation that a moral decision is involved and that they should not drift into military service as something that is inevitable.

2—That opportunity should be taken to become closer acquainted both with the law as it affects the conscientious objector and with something of the consequences of taking up such a stand.

3—That church members be urged to face up to this problem of conscription and to consider, reverently and humbly, with God's guidance, what should be the Christian word to this generation.

The President of Council, Arnold J. Leather, believes that the suggestion made to the Council in 1948 that some of its members be appointed to discuss and consider the subject was a much more effective way of raising the conscription issue than by presenting a prepared resolution to the whole council, which would have had very little chance of being passed.

"I believe an interest will be stirred up in this subject which by any other method would have been impossible. It is too soon, as yet, to say what the reactions of the different churches will be," he told Peace News.

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Back to Grandma's Knee

FOLLOWING the common New Year custom of newspapers, the Daily Herald this year had two features, one retrospective and the other prophetic.

It invited "8 Famous People" to say which ten out of twenty-five 1949 news items interested them most, and why. Then it invited some other well-known people to give their views on "the next fifty years."

There was one interesting link between the two features. One of the Famous Eight was Donald Soper, the well-known Christian pacifist, which does credit to the Herald's estimate of fame. One of the Next-fifty-years prophets was the Bishop of London, and they met on common ground.

Donald Soper placed the Communist victories in the East as the item of greatest interest. He said he saw Communism as a prime issue, because "there are only two competitors left for the hand of man—Christ and Marx. Christianity is the grandmother of Communism. We have to learn from Communists the secret of Communism's success, which they first learnt from the Christian Church."

Recriminations and denunciations of Communism are more or less worthless, he said. The question is—can we out-speak, out-live and if necessary out-die Communism?"

The Bishop of London said he saw all the peoples of the world lining up between two contradictory principles, totalitarianism and democracy, and that the attitudes which would be most important in bringing about the progress and unity of the world were engendered by a sound religious faith, but that "the people want to know what is the Christian answer to the world's problems."

Glancing over this page we find we have made remarks to this effect elsewhere and have added that people are not getting that answer in clear language. We will here go further and say that if Marxism had done its propaganda in the language of the Gospels it would not now be a competitor with Christianity.

We should have had no such blunt assertions as "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains." Instead, we should have had Communist agitators monotonously repeating once a week—"Blessed are they that toil, for they shall be disencumbered of their gyves," and nobody would have listened.

Donald Soper's remark about the futility of denouncing Communism is the very essence of commonsense. In the minds of the millions of working-class and peasant Communist throughout the world Communism does not mean an anti-religious doctrine; it means the abolition of social injustices.

To them, it does not stand for the subjection of the individual to the needs of the State; to them it stands for the use of the State for the liberation of the individual. The common people do not work up enthusiasm over a nihilistic creed, or the abandonment of ancient ethical standards. Only sick individuals do that.

The appeal of Communism is not that of the Marxist doctrine at all. Its appeal is to the sense of justice and self-sacrifice of men and women who want to work for the welfare of others. And that appeal is all the stronger because it gives them a plan of life and work to do.

That is the lesson of Communism for Christianity, democracy and pacifism.

Communism's grandmother, Christianity, won its way by the self-sacrifice of people who made their lives an incarnation of their creed.

Pacifism in its turn depends absolutely on the number of people who are prepared to extend their creed to personal example in everyday life and work.

The most hopeful thing that has come out of the Indian Peace Conference so far is the proposal to establish units for constructive peace work.

In the West we too have our embryo—a handful of voluntary peace service units.

We need thousands.

Ignorance of the Bible

THERE has been another of those regular disclosures of the widespread public ignorance of the Bible. But this time it was rather more startling than usual.

One of the test questions of a recent Gallup Poll, reported in the News Chronicle, was—"Can you name any of the four Gospels?" Only three in five could name them all, one in four could name none. And the proportion of ignorance increased steadily among younger people.

As an educational phenomenon alone, this may cause eyebrows to lift more than somewhat. When we were young, a superficial knowledge of the Bible, with lists of names and certain passages learnt, uncomprehendingly, by heart, took its place among the other regular methods of boring children at schools and other punitive institutions.

We can only conclude that the penal code for those convicted of being young has been changed in some details, probably for something less euphonious.

We did well

IMEDIATELY upon reading the above report we submitted ourselves to a test. We hastily ran over the books of the Bible and were gratified to find how many of them still stuck.

We started off at a cracking pace with Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers and kept it up as far as Jonah Micah, at which point we took the wrong turning in our hurry and pulled up on discovering that we were heading straight for Blenheim Ramillies Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

Turning to the NT after a breather, we got as far as Timothy Titus without a hitch. But we stopped there, recognising it as the cross-roads at which the careless traveller so easily diverges into the tributaries of the Thames or the Latin prepositions governing the Accusative Case.

What fills the Gap?

OUR erudition, admittedly, is probably above the average, other wise of course we should not be writing in Peace News.

But we confess to some surprise that so many people are unable to get the first four Gospels intact. For under the system of education with which we were afflicted they were easier to remember together than apart.

AFTER six hectic weeks of intense concentration in two Conferences, and travelling, investigating and giving addresses, one begins to realise the immensity of the Indian problem.

The sudden passing into political freedom after 150 years of political frustration, created a major problem in itself, as the transition called for a revolution in mental attitude and habits, involving the abandonment of criticism and a politics of words in favour of practical plans and a dynamic wherewith to execute them.

To make matters worse, the freeing of India coincided, with a chaotic world economic situation in which the process of capitalist breakdown which commenced in 1914, was being carried one big step nearer to final collapse. Accompanying that collapse was the collapse of imperialism, and the triumph of Communism, especially in the Far East. In India the menace of Communism grows daily.

SO far as current politics in India are concerned, the most important issue concerns the nature of the economy which India ought to adopt. Should she advance on the lines of Western industrialism, or should she think in terms of an economy based on the village, with a multiplicity of crafts and a few small scale industries?

If the former alternative is adopted, tremendous sums of money, both home and foreign will be invested in a colossal system of power machinery; workers will be increasingly drawn from the villages into the large industrial cities, which, in view of the very low standard of living which obtains in India, would quickly become vast slum areas.

In due course this cheap labour would come into competition with Western labour in a struggle for world markets, as financial considerations alone would demand that this new industrial potential be maintained at full strength. It needs no imagination to depict the inevitable consequences of the process.

If the second course were taken, there would be no herding of the people in Satanic cities, neither threats of war due to competition for world markets, since all villages would be largely self-supporting. It has been made plain to me that self-sufficiency is not a very difficult achievement for Indian villages.

ON the moral and spiritual side, the advantage would be heavily in favour of the village economy.

A study of Gandhi's Basic Education system has convinced me that the nature and quality of village life which would flow from

Commentary

When we were young there must have been few small boys who, though they knew nothing to distinguish one from the other, at least knew by name that inseparable quartet, Matthew, Mark, Lukan' John, if only for the reason that they went to bed with their breeches on.

For such reasons we find modern ignorance of the Scriptures inexplicable.

Anybody to blame?

WE searched the ensuing correspondence to see if there was any general opinion as to the cause of what most admitted was an undeniable decline of interest in religious literature.

Surprisingly few blamed the clergy, which was nice and tolerant, for the clergy are also men and it isn't easy for them to escape the characteristics of their own generation. If they lack enthusiasm, which they certainly do, they may justifiably say it's tough work preaching to a diminishing congregation. And that makes it hard to distinguish between cause and effect.

All the same, when the revival of religion comes—which ultimately it must, Man being Homo—it will have to come from the Church, even if the Church has to pull down all its Gothic and re-write all its prayers and hymns before it can get started.

But why should they read it?

BUT the important question is—Why should the people read the Gospels? What effect is it supposed to have on them if they do?

The fact is that, as the Bible is at present written, only the earnest student, so determined to discover the truth about God that he will stick at no obstacles, can make head or tail of that 17th century language.

The trouble with the Gospels, as with the Prayer-book, is that their language is so beautiful that everybody hesitates to spoil a work of art by translating it into English. That language no longer teaches or inspires. It only lulls.

It doesn't make sense

THERE are parts of the Gospel narrative which makes some sense to the uninitiated even as they are written. But when it comes to the very centre and core of the whole story, the code of Christian behaviour, the guide to eternal life, the statement of the natural law by which God

and His universe hang together—the Beatitudes—we are confronted with meaningless abracadabra.

What, after all, does the ordinary priest or minister today really believe is the reaction upon a congregation of average half-educated people of such fantastic assertions as—"Blessed are the poor in spirit," or "The meek shall inherit the earth?"

Those whose religion consists of nothing but an escapist sentimentality are doubtless soothed by the familiar repetition of exclusively Sunday language. Other people are simply left cold. For they know that, applied to everyday life and according to the commonly accepted use of words, both those statements are palpably untrue.

Wanted: plain language

SO we have to put the responsibility upon the Church after all. The longer it goes on monotonously repeating such apparently senseless phrases without immediately explaining them in modern terms, the more firmly they ensure the popular indifference to the Bible—and the Church.

Those who, by study or fortunate accident, have discovered the meaning of the Gospels beneath their archaic veil, must continue to wonder why the greatest and most powerful utterances of history should remain buried in verbal obscurity.

It is unreasonable to talk of public lack of interest in the Christian Gospel until someone has told them what that Gospel is. At present they simply don't know.

It has been done

THOSE of us who last year had the unique experience of feeling the effect upon an ordinary cinema audience of the French film, "Monsieur Vincent," the simple story of a 17th century French priest of saintly character, will have little doubt about the spontaneous response of normal people to the example of a Christ-like life, when told in comprehensible language.

When the Church has made the experiment of telling the story of Christ and pronouncing His teaching in language as clear as that of the films, they will know whether or not the mass of the people are interested in religion.

But of course the clergy would have to practise what they preached simultaneously, or even that experiment would "come off." For this is a practical age and most people are still very simple. That's the snag.

SEVAGRAM NOTEBOOK

By Wilfred Wellock

One of the delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting in India.

It would be very high indeed, and incomparably higher than that which would obtain in cities peopled with workers in repetitive processes, who worked without responsibility or social status, for money only.

The essence of the village economy springing from Basic Education is that it depends on the creative efforts of the people themselves, who are taught to use science, how to improve their tools, and to operate the processes which one or other of them has invented, in a responsible way.

In addition the consciousness that so much of their common life is due to their common efforts, in an economy that they discuss from time to time, develops an inward strength which manifests itself both as a personal and as a group consciousness. Nothing comparable to this occurs in the modern industrial system.

Another thing I have discovered is that the amount of finance that is required to set going a number of villages on the road to self-sufficiency by their own personal initiative and co-operation is infinitely less than that required to finance mass production.

INDIA therefore has to decide whether she will erect a costly industrial system and a money economy, or a much cheaper village system and a human economy. The politicians, for the most part, tend towards the former, but there is a very powerful movement which favours the latter. Not only so, but a considerable amount of devoted labour is being put into the scheme of village development on Basic Education lines. Sevagram and Wardha which lie close together and which the World Pacifist Conference has a good opportunity to study, are centres for the training of workers for pioneer work in village development.

I am writing this commentary in Madras, a "Pirka" of 50 to 60 villages. He has out in the home of the Development Officer of lined to me the sort of work that he is doing. And he is thirsty for information about certain matters, one of which is composting, and he has astonished me by describing the methods by which they are spreading the practice of composting.

THREE weeks ago in a Northern City I had dinner with 12 or 15 learned and distinguished men. One of them, who was certainly speaking the mind of many of those present said, "India is in a sorry plight. So long as Gandhi lived we felt safe, and things moved, progress was made. Whatever he wanted, the money would come that it might be done. Now he is gone, our

beacon is extinguished. We are lost and helpless without a leader."

But I have seen his influence at work in the heroic lives of men and women who are transforming the face of India in tiny patches. By and by the patches will come together and make a wonderful pattern. Many, looking on, are inspired and moved to action. Most of these heroes are University trained, and have given up highly paid jobs, professorships and professions in order to start building the new India on sound foundations. They are reaping a reward that money cannot buy.

Some of these workers were at our Conference. Today they rejoice because the Conference adopted the report of its Commission which dealt with the subject of Basic Education and the Social Order. They believe that this will be a tremendous help to them. The way of peace is a way of life which is by nature peaceful. It produces none of the stresses out of which war comes, and the Conference endorsed this view.

1950

WHAT a splendid result it was for 1949—a total of £581 for Headquarters Fund. We are all very grateful for this help and encouragement. I know that it meant a very special effort on the part of some of the readers of Peace News.

What about 1950? Now that we have shown what we can do, we must not be content with less this year, and I want to ask you to agree with me that we ought to aim at £600. But we must not rely only on the same folk to respond as generously this year as last. May I appeal to EVERY reader of Peace News to help us to raise £600? 9,500 into 600... won't it go? Please don't give it up! And do not think that we have 12 months, and therefore there is no need to do anything about it this week.

It is the steady regular giving week-by-week that makes the grand total possible. I want to see each fortnightly appeal bringing in not less than £25. Shall we try to keep up that average... starting now! And will YOU please help to make it possible for me to report a really good start next time, with not less than £25. I have a special idea I want to share with you then.

In the meantime thank you very much for 1949, and here's hoping and relying on you in 1950.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endleigh St., W.C.1

Our total in 1949: £581.
Our aim for 1950: £600.

At the Appeal
I REFUSE
CONSCIENCE

By ROY

When Roy Harris the Bristol Local Tribunal application for conscientious objection. His request to be allowed to make his own case in his own way. He recently appeared before the Appellate Tribunal, successful in securing a CO, following account of Peace

I WENT up to the Appellate Tribunal opinion of CO Tribunal about the previous case.

What concerned me actual decision of the Tribunal should be allowed to make a right flatly Local Tribunal.

I was pleasantly surprised. (Chairman MacDonell) reasonable documentary evidence was thoroughly examined—establishing war was not on religious and relevant. My witness friend, testifies

I was allowed every case in full. I decided to uphold me conditionally as a CO.

The substance of Tribunal was as follows

Why I am a CO

War is the paradigm of the duty of every citizen of peace and justice. I have imagined alleged nationalistic.

But the conscript is by partaking in the act of killing.

Is this a logically

My answer is "No. An analysis of his whatever its superficial conflict between patriotic sovereign and the people of national conscience. It lays down that he shall be judge and jury. He shall be justified in the act when it is "ex

Wars will continue until governments constitute arbiters of life and human beings... an attempt to act as cannon.

Britain sabotaging

I refuse to be co-opted by Government. I refuse to be a mad scramble into a mad scramble of the Atlantic Pact, in my alliance, which is a Charter.

Militarism, as a system between nations, is a morally

The lesson of history is that war emerges from the arms race, towards World War

If you intend to

write for help

Central Board for CO
6 Endleigh Street

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At the Appellate Tribunal I REFUSE TO BE CONSCRIPTED

By ROY HARRIS

When Roy Harris appeared before the Bristol Local Tribunal last October his application for registration as a conscientious objector was dismissed. His request to the Tribunal to be allowed to make a statement on his case in his own words was refused. He recently appeared before the London Appellate Tribunal where he was successful in securing conditional registration as a CO. He has written the following account of his hearing for Peace News.

I WENT up to London for my Appellate Tribunal with no high opinion of CO Tribunals and few illusions about the probability of winning my case.

What concerned me was not so much the actual decision of the Tribunal, but whether I should be allowed to voice fully my individual protest against the present drift to war—a right flatly denied to me at my local Tribunal.

I was pleasantly surprised to find the Tribunal, (Chairman: Sir Michael MacDonnell) reasonable and open-minded. Documentary evidence which I produced was thoroughly examined. Preliminary questions—establishing that my objection was not on religious grounds—were brief and relevant. My witness, Ian Campbell, a school friend, testified to my sincerity.

I was allowed every opportunity to state my case in full. The Tribunal finally decided to uphold my appeal and register me conditionally as a CO.

The substance of my address to the Tribunal was as follows:

Why I am a CO

War is the paramount evil of today. Hence the duty of everyone to work for the cause of peace and humanity supersedes any imagined allegiance to a narrow, bigoted nationalism.

But the conscript is asked to work for peace by partaking in an armaments race. Is this a logically valid attitude?

My answer is "No!"

An analysis of history shows that war, whatever its superficial reasons, is caused by conflict between nations exercising unrestricted sovereign power. The very principle of national sovereignty is one of anarchy. It lays down that every nation shall be judge and jury in its own dispute; shall be justified in murdering on a vast scale when it is "expedient" to do so.

Wars will continue until a World Government is constituted to abrogate from national governments their power to act as arbiters of life and death over millions of human beings... and until ordinary people refuse to act as cannon fodder.

Britain sabotaging UNO

I refuse to be conscripted because our present Government is sabotaging the efforts of UNO to outlaw war, by entering into a mad scramble for arms—itsself a breach of International Law—and, under the Atlantic Pact, into an aggressive military alliance, which is a violation of the UN Charter.

Militarism, as a means of settling disputes between nations, is logically indefensible and morally wrong.

The lesson of history is clear. From the suspicion and hatred engendered by armaments, war emerges. My stand against conscription is my renunciation of militarism, armaments and the present drift towards World War III.

If you intend to register as a CO

Write for help and advice to the Central Board for CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
8 Endsleigh Street - - - London, W.C.1

From Power to Peace

The first of two articles about the TOLDAS GROUP by the Secretary, Alan Litherland

usage that word signifies an attitude or way of life for individuals, and involves a refusal to bear arms.

We fervently believe in a policy which is the opposite of "power politics," yet we have no word to describe it. What incredible negligence!

It seemed to me essential to fill this gap, and I have therefore coined the word "Toldas," which I hope will be generally adopted. Toldas involves total unilateral disarmament, coupled with a positive policy of deliberate helpfulness, which would be at the same time our first line of defence and our chief contribution to the cause of peace. The word is derived by taking letters from "Total Disarmament" and "Active Security."

The coining of a new word also implies a new emphasis. So long as we speak of "pacifism," we tend to think in terms of the moral obligations of individuals, and of individual peace-making and training in non-violence, all of which are good and necessary. But Toldas is concerned only with national policy; as such it is quite distinct from the rights and wrongs of individual participation in military defence, and must stand on its own merits as a practical solution to the political problem of war.

This distinction brings out a number of points which pacifists often fail to stress, and of these I think two need special emphasis.

Defence, as we see it

The first is that it is the duty of any government to do everything in its power to protect its citizens from external aggression, and no government can ignore that duty. We make a grave mistake if our

propaganda gives the impression that we believe in the abolition of defence; rather, we should describe in plain terms the kind of defence that we do believe in. This is how I would summarise it:

The primary aim of any kind of defence is not to defeat aggression, but to prevent it, and for an unarmed nation the first line of defence is policy: we shall be secure in so far as our policies remove all reason for attacking us. Nevertheless, this first line of defence may fail, and some aggressor may decide to "walk in." We should therefore make full preparations for dealing vigorously and effectively with any attempt at occupation.

When the Germans invaded Norway in 1940, Norwegian resistance only developed slowly and sporadically, but eventually they worked out some techniques which were extremely effective. We should be ready by similar methods to offer immediate and united resistance to any invaders, with our plans carefully prepared and leaders trained beforehand. That is our second line of defence.

Over to the attack

Finally, let us be more aggressive in our ideas.

Just as the Nazis sought to change the world by unilateral action, so an unarmed Britain, with equal faith in her cause, should seek to change the world by unilateral action of the opposite kind.

Just as the Communists have a Strategy of World Revolution, so we should have a Strategy of Peace, as bold and as sweeping as theirs.

The invasion of an unarmed Britain, if it comes, should be regarded, not as something to be endured with resignation, but as a mighty opportunity for going over to the offensive against the ideas, the system, or the government responsible for the aggression. We need not apologise for our faith; it is the faith the world needs, and it is we who must change the world.

(To be concluded)

Dr. A. K. JAMESON reviews another "Pacifist Classic" for the under-twenties.

WAR'S CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

Testament of Youth, by Vera Brittain. Gollancz, 1933. Nineteenth Edition available at 6s.

THIS book was written to show the new generation what the period from 1914 to 1925 meant to those who grew up just before the war broke out.

It takes the form of a detailed account of the author's actions, thoughts, and feelings during that period, and it deliberately revives the suffering undergone then so as to challenge that easy relapse into forgetfulness which is responsible for the repetition of history's tragedies.

The author was born into a provincial society which looked askance at her for wanting to go to a University. She succeeded, however, in getting to Oxford, but remained there only for the one year 1914-15. By that time the secluded life of intellectual interests had come to appear impossible when her whole world was in dissolution. So she became a VAD nurse and saw service in London, Malta, and at a base hospital in Northern France until the war was over. But meanwhile she had suffered one loss after another. First her fiancé, a young man of the utmost promise who seemed marked out for leadership; then two of her most intimate friends, and finally her dearly loved brother.

She returned to an Oxford which was utterly changed from that which she had known, filled with young people who had not experienced the agonies of the war and could not understand how profoundly these had altered the spiritual climate of those who had. Abandoning her original study of literature, she took to history in the desire to find out the deeper causes of the war and in the hope of being able to prevent them from bringing on another.

After taking her degree she settled in

London on her own and became a speaker for the League of Nations Union. At the same time she realised her ambition to become an imaginative writer and she had more than one novel published. The book ends with her marriage in 1925.

SUCH is the purely personal record. But there is another strain of thought running throughout the work, the feminist cause. She has fought for such a reorganisation of society that its best women could be both mothers and professional workers, the equal and respected companions of men.

In considering her experiences the author recognises that "the incomparable keying up of the spirit in a time of mortal conflict constitutes the pacifist's real problem—a problem still incompletely imagined, and still quite unsolved. The causes of war are always falsely represented; its honour is dishonest and its glory meretricious, but the challenge to spiritual endurance, the intense sharpening of all the senses, the vitalising consciousness of common peril for a common end, remain to allure those boys and girls who have just reached the age when love and friendship and adventure call more persistently than at any later time. The glamour may be the mere delirium of fever, which as soon as war is over dies out, but while it lasts no emotion known to man seems as yet to have quite the compelling power of this enlarged vitality."

And again: "War, while it lasts, does produce heroism to a far greater extent than it brutalises." The problem is to find a moral substitute for this disastrous illusion.

BUT on the other hand the mood of hysterical exaltation is only temporary, and when the crisis is over comes the bitter disillusion, the sense that youth has been deceived, its courage cynically exploited, its idealism betrayed. For what are the results?

For the individual there is the calamitous interruption in his or her career, the nerve-racking strain of anxiety for loved ones, the shock of loss from which one recovers, but which leaves one a different person.

For the nation there is the loss of a whole generation of potential leaders. There is no doubt that our post-war difficulties were largely due to the lack of young men with imagination and initiative, so that we had to depend on the old and the second-rate, who created a world without confidence or security. For the old are the worshippers of precedent, privilege, and property and their minds are hard set; the young, on the other hand, may not bother about procedure, but they are more ready to face the necessity of change and to get things done.

The book has much vivid writing and should be read as typical of an experience which must be duplicated thousands of times in every war.

CONSCRIPTION

TWO GREAT PUBLIC MEETINGS

THE CHURCHES CHALLENGE CONSCRIPTION

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7
HOLBORN HALL, 7.30

DR. DONALD SOPER
REV. R. MERCER WILSON
REV. CLAUDE COLTMAN
L. LYN HARRIS

Chairman: REV. JAMES FRASER

CONSCRIPTION MUST GO

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11
CONWAY HALL, 2.30

RHYS DAVIES, M.P.
KATHLEEN LONSDALE, D.Sc.
RALPH MORLEY, M.P.
DR. A. D. BOLDEN

Chairman: LORD FARINGDON

Handbills and posters available.

Help wanted.

Please write to the Secretary.

NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL, Kings Cross Mission Buildings, Crestfield Street, London, W.C.1.
Organised as part of the activities of the NO CONSCRIPTION WEEK, February 4-11.

CD HELPS CREATE WAR MENTALITY

Ayr Councillor's protest

AYRSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL supported ex-Provost James Reid in his recent demand that they remit back a proposal for the appointment of Civil Defence Instructors since such action would only help create a "war mentality" and a "pessimistic outlook."

Ex-Provost Reid, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, declared—"We should consider the repercussions of this recruiting campaign in respect of public interest. One of the most important questions before the country today is national recovery and it is being shelved."

Renew peace efforts

Appealing to the Government, he asked them to renew their efforts regarding world peace by calling an all-round disarmament conference with some constructive policy.

"Surely we have not arrived at a stage when it is beyond the capacity of mankind to devise an alternative to war and the settling of our international difficulties. We have accomplished miracles in every other field," he said.

The Ayrshire County Council consists of 92 members, none of those present at the meeting objected to the ex-Provost's outspoken denunciation of the Civil Defence campaign.

Councillor Sim described the measures as "tragic," reports the Glasgow Evening Times.

"Press gang" attempt

He thought this call for recruitment was an attempt to "press gang" local members into the job.

"I won't be press-ganged," he exclaimed.

Dr. Alexander Watt, said the best method of obtaining peace was by being prepared. The Civil Defence Force was to protect civilians. It was not an aggressive force, and he thought we should do everything to make it a proper organisation on a voluntary basis.

"Wasted years"

Treasurer A. C. Manuel felt it would only lead to public unrest, fretting and illness.

"Many of our womenfolk have already had more than enough," he said, and "we should not allow public Civil Defence meetings to play on the emotions in the way intended."

Another member said he had wasted five years of his life in the last war and he didn't want to see another.

Some weeks before the Civil Defence debate ex-Provost Reid spoke against granting money to the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scouts. The Glasgow Daily Record wrote a leading article against him but the ex-Provost's mail revealed a number of sympathisers with his point of view and outspoken in their opposition to war.

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GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES MEMORIAL MEETING

'I would not rank him lower than saint'

—CANON RAVEN

THE Friends Meeting House, Euston, was filled on Jan. 4 for a memorial meeting for George M. Ll. Davies, former Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union and foundation member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The meeting, arranged by the two organisations with which he was so closely linked, was addressed by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU and Canon C. E. Raven, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and President of the FoR. Rev. Alan Balding, Chairman of the FoR conducted the meeting.

There were occasions, said Stuart Morris, on which words seemed to mock the very use to which they were put. It would be an impertinence to praise a man like George Davies, an impossibility to bury him. The very simplicity of that graciousness which was so essentially George shunned the very thought of praise. The spirit which inspired him and lit that kindly light in his eyes was deathless.

One thing we could do, however, for our own sakes even more than for his: we could try to discharge something of the debt we owed him.

It was not George who needed that gathering, but ourselves—who as his friends delighted to remember the manner of the man who honoured us by his friendship, and desired to associate ourselves with the method of his actions and the nature of his spirit.

His country, his Church, his politics

Not only was George beloved of Wales, he loved Wales, said Stuart Morris.

He was always so proud that the Church of which he was a minister had a record of pacifist witness unequalled by any other Christian organisation.

It was appropriate that if he was to go to Parliament it should be the Welsh universities that sent him there. It was significant that they sent him there as a pacifist. For him there was no Socialism which was not world Socialism, no nationalism which did not become international.

Was it his realisation that Parliamentary methods were not his, which deterred him from a political career?

In his *Essays Towards Peace*, collections of meditations covering a period from 1915 to 1943, we might find the key to his choice. Here were his own explanations of patriotism, of direct action, of the meaning of non-violence.

A further insight into what he valued was given us in an anthology called "Words of Peace." Stuart Morris then read a quotation from G. D. H. Cole on "Democracy" which George had observed:

"My notion of Democracy is that it involves a sense of comradeship, friendliness, brotherhood... I mean that democracy means loving your neighbours, or at any rate being willing to love them when you don't happen to dislike them too much, and even then when they're in trouble..."

"A democrat is one who has a physical glow of sympathy and love for anyone who comes to him honestly, looking for help and sympathy; a man isn't a democrat, however justly he may try to behave to his fellow-man, unless he feels like that. But—and here's the point—you can't feel that glow about people unless and until you know them personally. And you can't know personally more than a quite small number of people."

"That is why real democracies have either to be small or to be broken up into small human groups in which men and women can know and love one another. If human societies get too big and are not broken up in that way, the human spirit goes out of them; and the spirit of democracy goes out too. What walks in instead is demagoguery—a very different thing."

So, in any case, he came to make his choice; not Westminster and the arena of political strife, but the homes and hearts of his native Wales, especially where there was suffering, distress and unemployment.

Another quotation from his anthology symbolised this. It was from William James:

"As for me, my bed is made. I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and with the invisible molecular forces that work from individual to individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time."

"Bigger units are hollow, more brutal, more mendacious. I am against all big organisations as such—the national first—and in favour of the eternal forces of truth which always work in the individual and immediately unsuccessful way, underdog always."

His gift to the PPU

We owed George Davies a special debt, continued Stuart Morris, in that, with all the pull towards his own folk and his dislike of office and committees, he consented to be Chairman of the PPU Under his

chairmanship we learnt to value his insistence on personal relationships.

He was always so keen that our meetings would not be merely for discussing business. To him, each Council should be a meeting of real friends who could share their difficulties and hopes and joys, and maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. That was why he often arranged that meetings should be held away from London so that they could stay together under the same roof for a whole weekend.

"How constantly his integrity was a challenge to us," said Stuart Morris, "how invariably his gentleness proclaimed the better way!"

A true prophet

George was a true prophet accepting the mantle of those whose vocation was not to foretell the future so much as to be forthright in all they said and did; for his gentleness never meant that he would acquiesce in what he knew to be wrong, or fail to pass judgment on it.

He was one of that minority through whom progress has always come; whose function has always been to maintain in a world of struggle the vision of the God of Love, to act as the conscience of the body politic and to show the redemptive power of suffering, as they take upon themselves the burden of the world's sins and sorrows.

"How could we pay such a debt in words?" concluded Stuart Morris. "We have failed so often just where George reminded us that failure is most devastating, because we have failed at the level of personal relationships. We shall fail less in the future if we do not allow the light of George Davies to grow dim."

Canon Raven's tribute

Canon Raven said they were gathered together in the realisation of their great debt to George.

Only God, he said, could estimate the full value of such a personality. There were a few people whom we met in life who had that peculiar quality of saintliness (he recalled Dr. Oman saying he had met only three in his life); and he himself could not rank George Davies lower than saint.

His first impression of George was his charm. He soon came to realise that here was a man distinguished among men by a

PEACE NEWS IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

SHIPLEY PPU Group has secured permission from the Urban District Council for the display of Peace News in the Saltire Reading Room. Neighbouring Bingley UDC, however, has refused the Group's offer to supply a copy.

The latter council states that as a general rule they will not accept donations of periodicals which are organs of specific bodies urging particular policies, regardless of the virtues of those policies.

Other PPU Groups and individual readers throughout the country are in correspondence with their local librarians asking for the display of donated copies of Peace News.

How you can help

In 1939 *Peace News* was displayed in 416 libraries. Since post-war record of the number of libraries displaying copies is not available, readers are invited to write to the Editor saying whether or not their local library displays PN. Letters should be addressed to "Libraries," c/o The Editor, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Pass it on!

MANY readers of *Peace News* post their copy every week to pacifists abroad. There are still many pacifists, however, who would be most grateful for the paper but who are prevented by currency restrictions and personal difficulties from subscribing.

We should like to hear from more English and American readers willing to widen their overseas friendships by sending their copy of *Peace News* abroad. That this will be appreciated is made clear by many letters received at this office.

From Bad Pyrmont in Germany a school teacher writes: "Thanks to a friend in England I regularly get PN and value it highly. I give it to my pupils and to others, and they read it eagerly." And from a Dutch CO Camp, "We are with 150 boys here, there are quite a lot who do read English and we appreciate very much receiving your news."

Please write to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, for an address and details of how to send.

NOT CHURCH'S MISSION TO BLESS GUNS AND BOMBS

WHAT is the meaning of the temptations of Jesus other than that, by refusing the dominions of the world, offered for a mere bowing down to Satan—an occurrence which is surprisingly popular in our own day—Jesus felt that the only way to conquer the world was by the means of love and gentleness and at the last his own self sacrifice.

I'm sorry, but there it is—Christ demands your death rather than your killing someone else. He does exclude the use of force, and teaches self sacrifice rather than self aggrandisement. We have the mission to preach Christ crucified, not blessing guns and bombs.

If men don't like it—they must not quarrel with the preacher, let them quarrel with the authority. If I preach peace, it is because my master tells me so to do: it is because in His Cross I see all the armies of the world reduced to mistaken puppets caught up in a lust for blood and war which is totally alien to the spirit of Christ.

—From a Remembrance Day Sermon delivered by the Rev. John Unsworth at Mary Street Chapel, Taunton, Nov. 1949.

unique combination of outstanding moral courage with a courtesy and a gentleness rarely attained by anyone.

One felt that he lived his life in the presence of God, and to be in his "company" made one feel that one wanted to live out one's highest Christian ideals.

Canon Raven said he had not known George as one of the founders of the FoR nor in the early days of his witness in prison, for he himself had not then become convinced of the pacifist faith.

He first met George at an inter-denominational Copec Conference and afterwards went with him on his visits to some of the derelict miners' families in South Wales during the period of great unemployment.

That was one of the most characteristic phases of George's life—his work among the impoverished miners, and to be with him then was an experience one did not forget: to see those people's faces light up when he approached them because they knew that here was somebody who cared.

He accompanied George also in visiting small Welsh congregations in isolated places, and saw the loving welcome that met the beloved preacher wherever he went.

Black and Tan intervention

Canon Raven thought that George's outstanding public service was perhaps his direct intervention with Lloyd George to end the Black and Tan war to an end.

He was probably unfitted for politics and the political method, but before he resigned his seat in Parliament he was able to show many people, by his teaching and his personal example, that there was a better way than majority rule.

That was his contribution to politics—showing that better way: the meaning of the Cross and Redemption, against the logic and cynicism of those who only believed in power.

Canon Raven spoke movingly of George's help to anyone who went to him in times of trouble. He was one, he said, to whom you could always go when you felt at the end of your tether. There were some experiences in life about which one hardly dared speak: when his wife died he went to see George in Anglesey; and as they walked the hills together he felt that Christ walking in Genesareth was not far away.

When he saw George in Bangor last August he felt that the veil between him and the joy which was prepared for him had become very thin, although he would still work cheerfully amongst us.

His last struggle

We knew, said Canon Raven, that in his last months George was overcome by a sense of desolation. But only God knew what darkness he had to pass through in his struggle with death, when he too may have uttered that cry of the forsaken—"Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?" of his Master. We only knew that now his triumph was complete and that he lived in eternity.

He lived among us, too, in the example and the influence of his gracious personality. In the three years when he presided over the PPU he gave something of permanent value to the Peace Movement, bringing harmony out of discord.

There was throughout his life a kind of joyousness in him, said Canon Raven, as of one who had felt the love of God. He believed in something more than the justice which could not be achieved in this world, and knew that love as a living reality and a conquering power.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

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HYDE PARK PEACE RALLY

Sacrifices needed to end war

SYBIL MORRISON, the only pacifist speaker at the Communist-sponsored British Peace Committee's Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, Jan. 8, received a warm welcome from a crowd of about 1,000.

Referring to the resolution demanding the banning of the atom bomb, she declared that the only way to ban weapons of war was to abolish war itself.

She mentioned a statement made by the chairman, Lester Hutchinson, MP, that we ought to refuse to go to war ever again unless we were attacked, and said that she would put a full stop after the word "again," since it was certain that governments always persuaded their peoples that war was only made in defence; so long as we continued with preparations for war it didn't matter very much whether it was defensive or not, the results were likely to be the same.

She declared that in her view there were faults and wrongs on all sides and she believed that with any real will to come to an agreement the "cold war" could easily be called off.

She did not think that any real stand could be made by the people of this country against war with Russia or with any other country unless they were prepared to make great sacrifices such as refusing to make weapons of war, demanding that American bombers return to America—which might mean doing without Marshall Aid, and standing steadfast against all coercion whatever the consequences.

The British Peace Committee's slogan was "Make 1950 a year of peace," but the absence of war was not the same as peace, and she believed the best we could do in 1950 would be to let the Government know that the great mass of people in this country would say "No" to war.

After the speeches in the Park a procession was formed which marched to within a few yards of the U.S. Embassy where a further meeting was held.

A young Communist, Arnold Wesker, made an impassioned appeal for support for the work of the British Peace Committee.

"I do not want to go to war and fight and kill people who have no desire to kill me," he declared.

"I hate the idea of shooting, bombing and machine-gunning men, women and children who want to live and be happy and free, and that goes for Russians, Americans, Frenchmen and Chinese alike."

A thousand leaflets were distributed by PPU members outside the Park who accompanied Peace News sellers.

Aylesbury PPU Group's tribute to Secretary

ON New Year's Eve the Aylesbury Peace Pledge Union Group held a New Year's Party, followed by a short Watch Night service, taken by Mr. R. J. Davey.

Prior to the service a presentation was made to Arthur Full, in token of appreciation of his faithful service as Secretary of the Group. The presentation took the form of the newly published "Challenge to Conscience" by Denis Hayes.

NEWS IN BRIEF

HOLLAND: The President of the International Court of Justice at The Hague has set March 20 as the deadline for filing written statements on the question of the international status of the territory of South-West Africa. The Court was requested by the UN General Assembly to hand down an advisory opinion on the question after the latter had heard the Rev. Michael Scott.

NORWAY: Efforts are being made in Norway to establish a weekly newspaper, comparable to Peace News. At the Annual General Meeting of the Norwegian section of the War Resisters' International a resolution was passed asking the Norwegian Peace Council to investigate possibilities, and offering to contribute to the expenses involved.

SWEDEN: The "Nordisk Kväkar Tidsskrift" (Scandinavian Quaker Journal), which started publication in January, 1949, in Stockholm, has printed a series of articles on the growth of the Society of Friends in the northern countries. The latest article deals with Finland, where the Quaker movement is only of comparatively recent growth. To a great extent its foundation was due to members of the Finnish pacifist societies, though the driving force has been the American Quaker, Douglas V. Steere, who first visited Helsinki in 1937.

JAPAN JOURNEY—10

A HOUSE IN HIROSHIMA

WE are building the four units which we will present to the city of Hiroshima as dwellings for bombed-out families according to blueprints prepared by the building department of the city.

They are good houses, much better than the average post-war Japanese family lives in, but we would change them somewhat if we dared... especially the kitchen and the toilets.

Each apartment consists of two six-matt (a matt or "tatami" is approximately 3 x 6 feet) rooms for general living, and sleeping purposes, with an enclosed entrance area, a small kitchen, and two tiny toilet rooms. The living rooms have sliding partitions between them so that the two are quickly converted into one large airy room when desired. The wide opening on the street side has bay window effect with double "shoji" to provide ventilation.

On the garden side there is a small covered porch with sliding paper-covered doors protected by solid wood shutters. This double sash effect gives good protection in cold weather and allows the entire house to be opened to cooling breezes in hot weather.

In the "best room" there is a nice little "kokonomen" or "honourable alcove" for some beautiful hanging of a floral arrangement, and there is deep storage space from floor to ceiling in both rooms. These "living rooms" are very comfortable.

But the kitchen is only about seven by nine feet with very little working space. The space under the end window is taken up entirely by the two-hole brick stove, the right wall by a sink and the door to the entrance way, and the left wall by an outside door and built-in cupboard space with a wash basin underneath. The fourth wall is of "shoji" opening into the living room.

Under the stove there are bins for wood and under the floor storage space for

ISRAELI WRI CONFERENCE

Arab-Israeli meeting prevented by military

THE prospects of forming a vegetarian-pacifist settlement in Israeli were discussed at a recent national conference of the WRI Israeli Section.

In preparation for this discussion, a number of members had organised a holiday-camp on a piece of mountain land, under consideration as a settlement-site.

Although the social structure and foundation of this settlement were fully debated, no final decision was reached.

Members were unsure if the proposal could be successfully practised; but declared they would continue to give the matter consideration, hoping it would finally be realised.

Other topics discussed were: alternative service; and the relationship between the Israeli WRI Section and the IHUD Society (for reconciliation between Jews and Arabs).

But, because the military authorities disallowed travel, Arabic friends were unable to attend the conference.

—WRI News Service

By Floyd Schmoee

AS a gesture of international friendship, a party of Americans led by Professor Floyd Schmoee of the American For, is visiting Japan on a project to help build houses for some of the innocent victims of the war. The cost is contributed by interested Americans and the scheme is under the care of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends.

potatoes, rice and other bulky supplies. The only working space is the sink and a space about two feet wide by the stove. We wanted to build a table somewhere but we were not sure that the Japanese housewife, having for generations done most of her food preparation on the kitchen floor, would use it if we built it.

We also wanted to raise the work area about four inches so she would have to stand straight to reach it.

Also we would like to have put hot water in our kitchens; which like the flush toilet and clean sheets, is one of the hallmarks of civilised living; but running hot water is a luxury that few Japanese families can afford. There is only enough fuel for cooking.

We had felt that nothing less than a flush toilet was worthy to be labelled "American built" but we gave that idea up also. There is no sewer and it would upset the entire disposal system of the area to have to ladle all that excess water out and carry it away in "honey buckets" every day.

In the end we decided that we ought to know more about Japanese and their home life before we attempted to change their habits. Besides it would have meant making new blueprints and we did not have time for that.

So again we realised that you cannot raise the standard of living of one family at a time... you must start with an entire community and that was too big a job for one summer.

(To be continued)

UP AND DOING

"It's a great pity," they say, when told that Peace News circulation has fallen by 50 per cent. since the end of the war. "Get the wholesale news-agents to ban the paper again, then pacifists will have to do something about it!"

Normal sales are now 9,500, against 18,000 in 1945 when we had to do the whole job ourselves. What has gone wrong? Post-war apathy, diminished convictions, the lost incentive of war-time segregation, lack of new supporters? Something of each perhaps, but these negative reasons only partially account for our present position.

For pacifists, no less than other people, these last five years have been a time of re-habilitation. Catching up on disrupted careers, home building, coping with the urgent tasks of reconstruction in every sphere of life. And now, after five pre-occupied years, there are enheartening signs that many more pacifists will devote increased energies to direct work for peace.

With fewer pacifists active in the propagandist societies Peace News has a large responsibility for linking together all those peace workers active in politics, the churches, humanitarian and social organisations. And it is on them especially we now depend for increasing our circulation amongst those already sympathetic to our point of view.

Whatever peace society you support, or if you belong to none, Peace News itself is the simplest means of spreading your convictions.

This weekly witness to the things that create peace can be passed on to many more people than you have time to discuss with. But everything depends on your personal initiative, and we therefore propose for the next few months to devote this space to showing how you can best use Peace News for spreading pacifism.

With 9,500 readers all working together in a great new effort to increase our sales we can face 1950 with optimism. Please, therefore, watch this feature, send me your plans and suggestions, report your successes for the encouragement of others and determine that this year shall see us at least regain the influence we had five years ago.

HARRY MISTER

Last week's circulation: 9,500 copies. Can we make it 10,000 by February?

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, January 12, 1940

I am quite clear that killing my fellow-man cannot be reconciled with Christianity. I am equally clear that war is a delusion and cannot accomplish the ends for which it is engaged in.

I consider Nazism a malignant spiritual disease, but I am sure it cannot be cleansed from the earth by any employment of its own evil weapons. Therefore I find something tragic in the present situation.

An immense amount of really fine devotion and justice and democracy can no more be established in the world by this war than they were by the last one. That men should die heroically but in vain is surely always essentially tragic.

—Dr. A. Herbert Gray.

Notes for your Diary

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday. 2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and Secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Sunday, January 15
TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 11.15 a.m. Har-
per's Cafe, Five Ways; Area Annual
Meeting. Afternoon session,
1.30 p.m. John Fletcher (WRI), South-
East Area: PPU.

Monday, January 16
LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. No Conscience
Council (London Branch Meeting); Weigh
House Church, Binney Street, Near Bond
Street Tube; NCC.

Tuesday, January 17
ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting
of the Arts, Upper Littlemore Road; H. Carey
Hall, M.A. on "Off the Beaten Track
in Eastern Europe"; For.

Thursday, January 19
LONDON, W.1: 8.30 p.m. (tea from
8.15) Weigh House, Binney Street, Ox-
ford Street; Annual Meeting, followed at
8.45 p.m. by Conference on "Pacifism and
the State". Opener: Frank Hancock;
Chairman: Dr. A. D. Belden; Members
welcome. Church: Movement for
Peace.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn
Fields; Open-air meeting: Sybil Morrison;
PPU.

Saturday, January 21
LONDON, E.C.4: 4.9 p.m. Royal Scot-
tish Corporation Hall, Fetter Lane, E.C.4.
Entertainment, games, and danc-
ing. Hostesses: The Rev. and Mrs.
A. D. Belden. Tickets 1s. 6d. London
District P.U.

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Central Halls, 25
Bath Street; Dr. E. L. Allen of Durham
University on "Fear or Faith"; For.

Saturday, January 28
LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m. Dick Shep-
pard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; Meeting
of the Non-Violence Group formed at the
"Steps to Peace Conference"; Secretary:
Ethel Lewis, The Manse, Brill Aylesbury;
All interested welcome: PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m. Dick Shep-
pard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; Meeting
of the Arts and Letters Group formed at
the "Steps to Peace Conference"; Sec-
retary: Douglas Clark, Dick Sheppard
House; All interested welcome: PPU.

Monday, January 30
LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. 250 Cam-
den Road; Alfred Tucker on the "War
Resisters' International"; Youth House.

Thursday, February 2
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn
Fields; Open-air meeting: Sybil Morrison;
PPU.

Saturday, February 4
LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m. Dick Shep-
pard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; Meeting
of the Religious Group formed at the
"Steps to Peace Conference"; Secretary:
Mrs. Rouse, 6 Leighton Road, Bush Hill
Park, Enfield; All interested welcome:
PPU.

Tuesday, February 7
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Holborn
Hall, Grays Inn Road; The Churches
Challenge Conscripted; Dr. Donald Soper,
Rev. R. Mercer Wilson, Rev. Claude Colt-
man, H. Lyn Harris; Chairman: Rev.
James Fraser; No Conscience Council.

NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meet-
ing House, Friar Lane; Ven. Percy Hartill
on "Peace or War"; Nottingham Peace
Group, PPU and For.

Saturday, February 11
LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m. Conway
Hall, Red Lion Square; "Conscription
Must Go"; Rhys Davies, MP, Kathleen
Lonsdale, D.Sc., Ralph Morley, MP, Dr.
A. D. Belden; Chairman: Lord Faringdon;
No Conscience Council.

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continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS
CENTRAL HALL, Westminster. Debate
—Raymond Blackburn, MP, v. K. Zilliacus,
MP—"Atlantic Treaty": UN Charter;
World Peace. Monday, Jan. 23, 6.30 p.m.
Admission by ticket, 2s. and 1s. from
National Peace Council, 144 Southampton
Row, W.C.1.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street,
W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evening, at
7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour
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9

WHY NO-CONSCRIPTION WEEK?

By ROGER PAGE

Secretary, No Conscription Council

A TRULY lost cause is one about which people feel indifferent; a cause is not lost or hopeless merely because a vast majority fight bitterly against it.

And the real tragedy about conscription now is that it is scarcely a bone of contention. If it were passionately opposed by even a tiny handful in face of bitter partisanship by a huge majority, that would be a healthy situation, full of hope and opportunity. The truth is far otherwise, and sad it is to see how very little people are stirred, for or against, by this issue.

Paradoxically, I would not even use the world apathy to describe the present state of mind, for even that has too positive a sound: people don't care enough even to be apathetic. There is just a dumb and deadening indifference.

No ideal can survive if people do not care enough to fight and struggle about it. If the present attitude to conscription persists then it will soon become a dead issue.

Only a very few people positively approve of conscription—enough to welcome it as a permanent institution without regard to the immediacy or otherwise of a war.

Conscription is wrong

Recently a mass of opinion has grown up which criticises the present-day working of conscription in Britain. This widely-expressed criticism seems to have had very little effect; even the mass newspapers which have lately attacked conscription seem to have made very little impression.

I believe this is largely because so little public discussion goes to the heart of the matter, which is this: That it doesn't matter a Shinwell's cuss whether or not conscription is efficient (I don't want the army to be more efficient); whether it causes lads to waste their time (most human effort in modern civilisation is wasted anyway), and so on. The thing that matters is that conscription is wrong. Evolve a system which is 100 per cent. efficient and economical and it is still wrong.

Conscription must be thought of and discussed as a moral issue, and an issue which has got to be faced. That is why the No Conscription Council is holding a special No Conscription Week from Feb. 4 to 11.

The "Week" will open on Feb. 4 with a poster parade through the West End of London, leaving Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 10.30 a.m.

Volunteers for this demonstration, which will be used to draw attention to meetings taking place during the "Week" should send their names to one of the co-operating organisations listed below. The total number of names received will be published at the top of this column each week.

Eden Peacock, Hon. Sec., London Branch
No Conscription Council, 44 Millbank,
S.W.1.

Leslie Tarlton, Secretary, London Union,
Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon
Square, W.C.1.

Molly Barlex, Hon. Organiser, London
Area, Peace Pledge Union, 219 Croydon
Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Have you seen the January

PPU JOURNAL

Interesting features include:

Appreciation of G. M. L. DAVIES and
H. RUNHAM BROWN

Further news of the Steps to Peace
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Reviews of books on peace

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Letters to the Editor

Two good ideas

IT would seem that some of the lessons learned during the last war are not to be forgotten. Plans to standardise the arms, equipment and training methods of the British, Canadian and United States forces have been announced. But surely it would be unwise in the turncoat circumstances of international politics not to make this interchangeability universal? Surely the problem of overcoming the technical obstacles to more efficient killing demands a more complete co-operation than a mere tripartite arrangement.

Nor is it sufficient to have to rely on post-war organised voluntary contributions to funds for the defence of alleged war criminals. These should be placed on an internationally uniform compulsory basis in a scheme of insurance to be instituted without delay. We can only guess whose turn might be next, or how soon, it will be the need of such benefit.

16 Mornington Road,
Bolton, Lancs.

SAM WALSH

Two injustices

I WRITE you on two subjects: Marshal Manstein and the poor boy detained because he would not make a parachute jump from a plane.

Manstein only did his duty as a soldier of Germany during a war. Had we lost—a few British pompositives would have been criminals and paid a penalty.

Let Shinwell release that poor boy. Would he jump from a plane? No one should attempt such low-down tactics as parachuting into any country.

4 College Square,
Llanelli.

M. M. NEWELL

In defence of meat eaters

I THINK it is time to point out that meat eaters who call themselves pacifists have a point of view, which I am afraid your correspondent, Alfred Haffenden (PN Nov. 25, 1949) does not see.

He regards us as corpse eaters; now the word "corpse" means a human dead body. The word for the dead body of a dumb animal is carcass, and the existence of the two words for what he regards as the same thing has its significance. It may be our duty—and in view of the world shortage of food it probably is—to refrain from eating animal food and wearing animal clothing, but it is clearly to deny our animal natures to do so, whereas to refrain from killing one another is not. Many animals prey on animal life, but they do not devote their best endeavours to killing their own species, as human beings do.

Then are we to infer that Jesus of Nazareth was not a "true" Jesus, for in St. Luke's Gospel we read that he was offered a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb, and that he took it, and ate before them all? Or did he accept only the honeycomb? We read also in St. Mark's Gospel about the miracle performed with loaves and fishes.

If Alfred Haffenden would clear up his attitude on these points, and at the same time try to understand the position of the meat-eater-cum-pacifist I should be very grateful. I do not ask him for what constitutes a "true" social order, as I do not suppose the answer could be compressed into a letter.

89 Southwood Lane,
N.6.

MARJORIE HAMLYN

Request from Germany

A GERMAN schoolmaster friend has written me to ask if I can effect an exchange of about 20 German children with a similar number of British next summer.

I have communicated with the local Education Authority, but they, after deliberation, have declined to act.

It will be a great pity if this fine chance to foster international understanding is missed. Therefore any reader in a position to do something in the matter should write as soon as possible to, Herr Josef Dartmann, Wenholtshausen-über-Meschede, Sauerland, Westphalia, British Zone, Germany.

Residence in Germany would cost nothing but fares to and from the Continental coast would of course have to be met. This arrangement would be reciprocal.

8 Leggat Terrace,
Aberdeen.

A. M. DAVIDSON

From a Dutch Labour Camp

GREETINGS to the readers of Peace News on behalf of the COs working here, and especially to those who sent their good wishes to us.

It's very nice to see at least once a year, how widespread the "WRI family" is indeed!

Best wishes for Peace News.
ERIK MISPELBLOM-BEIJER
Rijkspsihiatrische Inrichtingen,
Eindhoven, Holland.

PPU AND THE ELECTION

HANDBILLS for distribution outside political meetings will shortly be available from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, free of charge for those willing to undertake the work of picketing political meetings. Peace News posters are available from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4., for sellers covering such meetings.

Arthur Bryant and the PPU

IN fairness to Mr. Arthur Bryant may I comment on your last week's leader "Historian's Lapse."

There is this amount of truth in the linking of PPU tenets with England's foreign policy in the inter-war years. Although to PPU signatories the renunciation of war is a step which severs them from other ideologies, there were then, as now, numbers of other people ardently preoccupied with the desire for peace until the coming of war made it imperative for them to come to a decision. Many of them were not clear whether their feeling about war was just moral repugnance, or whether it involved their conscience as a personal matter.

At the back of every minority movement is always this far larger body of vague sympathisers (known in another connection as "fellow travellers") and if this body is sufficiently numerous it will play a large part in determining government action. That England was not better armed and therefore had to temporise was directly due to the general spirit of pacifism or near-pacifism between the wars.

Hall Hill,
Oxted, Surrey.

EVELYN MAUDE

Peace through politics —

DO you not find it dispiriting to find the Tories and the Labour blaming each other for their parts in the production of the present economic crisis when it is perfectly plain that the real nigger in the woodpile is the fact that the last war destroyed us and that we are spending somewhere in the region of £1,000,000,000 per year preparing for another?

It wouldn't be so bad if they blamed the proper feature of each other's policy either but they stick to economics and technical details instead of seeing that the feature which must be eradicated from the policies of both parties is the principle of maintaining the national sovereignty of Britain. Here is a feature of our political life which cannot be removed too soon. We should try to get something done before the next election to show that there is a growing desire among the people for the abandonment of the principle of political patriotism and the adoption of the principle of world community.

It is towards this end that the nucleus of a World Parliament Party has now been formed here in Dundee and Mr. Granville Marsh of 64 Beach Road, Liverpool, is trying to form a branch there.

The following statement of party policy may interest your readers sufficiently to help us put up a token candidate at the next election.

"The Party, believing in common citizenship as a primary requirement of civilised society and the chief aim of the Party is to bring the whole world under an integrated system of parliamentary government."

The Party, believing in common citizenship, is open to all, irrespective of sex, race, creed, or free-democratic political theory, who commit themselves to its aims and methods and undertake to promote its work accordingly.

"Its activities shall be conducted by parliamentary and other peaceful methods with a view to ensuring the election of World Parliament Party members to positions of official political authority throughout the world."

May I also say that I welcome the moral support provided for this approach by your correspondent Mr. R. Harris in a recent issue of Peace News. As he says, we must learn to regard peace "as something very positive." In other words we must not rely on merely hanging back. We must take the brakes off and save the social system by the positive application of the accelerator towards a parliamentary form of world government. If we leave our fate to the believers in the disunited unity of UN and talk-shops like the Council of Europe we deserve our assuredly dismal future. That is why we must rise and press on towards "One World, One People, One Parliament!"

E. G. MACFARLANE
Organising Secretary, The World Parliament Party.

3 Alpin Road,
Dundee.

—and Education

AS a result of a number of requests, the Welling and District Animal Protection Society, is sponsoring the formation of another Society, the Welling and District Peace Education Society.

Its policy will be as follows:

(a) We leave it to the conscience of individual members to participate in immediate conscientious objection to conscription in times of war or "peace."

(b) We recognise that peace is a thing of the mind, and that mental attitudes cannot be forced, they must be developed through education.

(c) This attitude of mind is a humanitarian one, and to unconsciously or consciously indulge in war in any branch of human thought, feeling, speech or activity, while with the lips advocating peace, is illogical.

(d) We therefore advocate the teaching of peace in schools, and in adult education centres, through the national propaganda sources (press, radio, etc.) and the training of children by their parents to believe in peace and humanitarianism.

P. A. SLADE
President.
284 Sutherland Avenue,
Welling, Kent.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Work has been carried out on a "super bomb" which, it is reported, would have a destructive force 1,000 times greater than the first atomic bombs. The above facts are contained in a report compiled by the Atomic Energy Commission. The document is primarily concerned with preparation for defence in the event of an atom war.

—Daily Telegraph, Jan. 9, 1950.

THE use of the word "defence" in any description of war preparation penetrates apparently even into official documents; this persistence is understandable when viewed from the angle of governments determined that no one shall accuse them, or their allies, of any aggressive intention.

We are given to understand that a third world war will never be launched by this country, or the USA; the stockpile of atom bombs is for defence only.

It is argued that the first atom bombs were only used in order to bring the last war to an end, and we are told that hundreds of thousands of British and American lives were saved by killing and wounding with one bomb, 80,000 Japanese.

Tragic repercussions

That the war was, in fact, brought to a conclusion by the dropping of the bomb is a questionable assertion which I do not intend to argue on this occasion. Whatever the real reasons, political or experimental, for its use at that particular time, it has certainly brought its own bitter and tragic repercussions.

British and American lives may have been saved in 1945, but what of the lives of the present generation? Have their lives, or yours, or mine, been made safe for the future?

If it is true that the decision to use the most appalling weapon of destruction ever invented, was made in order to save the lives of some human beings at the cost of the lives of some other human beings, let it at least be recognised for the immoral decision that it was, and face the inevitable consequences.

The defence myth

We are now forced to pretend that there is some defence against the weapon that, in the full knowledge that there was no defence, we deliberately used. Perhaps in the next war some other country will decide that to wipe out the inhabitants of Great Britain is justifiable, if it will save the lives of their own people, and perhaps at this very moment the "super bomb" that is being constructed in the USA is already being duplicated in some other country.

Modern war is totally devastating, appalling, and immoral; it is a diabolical falsehood to assert that atom bombs are being built for defence since there can be no defence other than the mass killing of enemy peoples.

The truth has been wrapped up for far too long, especially in this country, where people have been reared in the tradition that the British are "sportsmen," who always behave well even to their enemies.

Because of this idea about our national characteristics it has been particularly necessary to justify the mutilation and killing of hundreds of thousands of helpless people, on the grounds that it was a defence against the dastardly weapons invented by a wicked enemy, and the unprovoked attacks launched by an unscrupulous foe.

Even children know it

That someone else does wrong is no argument for doing wrong oneself; that is what any parent would teach a child and it is a fundamental truth.

A great wrong was done when the atom bomb was dropped, and at the time the world stood aghast and shaken by the news, for perhaps the consequences were glimpsed. But the core of the wrong-doing lies in the war method itself; the expedients and the crimes of war not of one particular weapon.

Pacifists say "No" to it, and it is their task to make the truth clear to their fellows at all times, and in all possible ways.

LONDON AREA CIRCLE

Peace Pledge Union

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and

RIP VAN WINKLE

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